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Researching the links between social-emotional learning and intercultural education: strategies for enacting a culturally relevant teaching

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the links between social-emotional learning (SEL) and intercultural education. The work calls for pedagogical attention to the role of emotions in intercultural education and analyses the role of SEL within the umbrella of intercultural education. It claims that both SEL and intercultural education offer a framework for rethinking and changing curricula, school climates and relationships providing the foundation for quality of education for all. Therefore, this connection is not only critical but also inevitable and desirable. It asserts that SEL in intercultural landscapes is a human right that all students are entitled to, and argues that ignoring this right amounts to a social injustice. Some pedagogical considerations and strategies for enacting a culturally relevant implementation of SEL in intercultural settings will be provided. The purpose of the paper is to inform the debate on the role of emotional aspects in intercultural education, and how to configure culturally responsive teachers.

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Emotions and education in western societies

Generally, attention to the non-academic sides of school has been a low priority and consequently, emotions have been ignored in educational inquiry and regarded as obstacles to learning (Pekrun and Linnenbrink-Garcia 2014). The absence of structured and continuous training of emotions in the current educational system diminishes the scope of social justice¹ (Durlak et al. 2011). Research on emotion has given rise to a plethora of debate and controversy (Durlak et al. 2015; Wetherell 2012). This is mainly due to the difficulty of defining the term emotion and how to measure it (Scherer 2005). Importantly, many cross-cultural studies traditionally focused on cultural differences in emotions (Ekman et al. 1987; Kitayama and Markus 1994; Izard 1994). In fact, work on emotions in other disciplines reveals cultural differences in the prevalence, patterns, and specific contexts of emotional outputs in a given culture

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(Kitayama, Markus, and Kurokawa 2000; French et al. 2005). For example, peer conflicts of children in the United States and Indonesia. Indonesian children reported disengaging from conflict more often than did U.S. children, whereas U.S. children more frequently reported using negotiation. 40

Salovey and Mayer (1990) commenced the study of the role of emotional abilities in student learning and social adaptation by proposing a theory of emotional intelligence (EI). Since the development of the concept, research on EI is increasing substantially and scholars have been studying this term for the greater part of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Hereafter, numerous studies have focused on the role of emotions on education. With the publication of Goleman's (1995) *Emotional Intelligence: Why It Can Matter More Than IQ* and Elias et al. (1997) *Promoting Social and Emotional Learning: Guidelines for Educators*, interest in social-emotional learning (SEL) among educators and policy makers has grown exponentially. All these developments provide an opportunity to think about an issue that is barely discussed in the social sciences, namely the relationship between SEL and intercultural education. 45 50

Conceptualising SEL 55

There is a reasonable degree of conceptual ambiguity regarding SEL, as the construct encompasses a number of positions and is often used as an umbrella for many types of programs. Even though the programs vary in content, implementation, amount, grade-level participation, and outcome measures, SEL can be defined as the process of socialisation and education connected to personal, interpersonal and problem-solving skills and competencies (CASEL 2011). This process develops in formal and informal settings and is influenced by a multifaceted interaction of individual, situational and cultural factors. Cherniss et al. (2006, 243) assert that the concept SEL was first presented in 1994 at a meeting hosted by the Fetzer Institute and attended by a group of scholars and practitioners involved with youth development, who defined it as 'the process of acquiring a set of social and emotional skills – self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, and responsible decision-making'. The term was officially introduced by the Collaborative of Academic, Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL); based at the University of Illinois–Chicago, providing educators, teachers, and other youth development practitioners a framework for addressing social and emotional needs in a methodical manner, while still focusing on their primary academic task (Zins et al. 2004). Nonetheless, SEL is not a completely new idea with respect to pedagogy. Theoretically, SEL can be embedded within the framework of the learner-centred psychological principles that lead to understanding students as knowledgeable generators, active participants in their own learning, and co-creators of learning experiences and curricula (McCombs 2004). 60 65 70 75

We adopt the term SEL versus Emotional Intelligence (EI), which has been a highly contested concept and has generated considerable controversy (Murphy 2006; Cherniss 2010). Three issues have been particularly troublesome. Firstly, that it is defined so broadly and inclusively that there exists no agreement about what EI is. Secondly, the very nature of the EI concept makes it impossible to develop adequate measures (Locke 2005; Matthews et al. 2006; Spector and Johnson 2006). Thirdly, that EI is positively associated with outcomes and performance (Mayer, Salovey, and Caruso 2008) such as job performance or leadership efficiency. EI also has been found to be related to academic achievement in children, but the strength of the association seems to be more modest. Hence, recent research suggests that the importance of EI for performance probably will vary with the specific situation, the outcomes, and the kinds of people involved. Furthermore, EI might predict some measures of performance but not others.

Acknowledging that all the current models have significant limitations, the framework of SEL is chosen because of its sound and scientific anchoring in theoretical developmental and educational models, the large quantity of existing programmes, and the rich experience concerning implementation. Furthermore, one virtue of SEL is that it includes many of the social-emotional abilities that are important for success in intercultural interactions, addressing the sociocultural factors² we discuss in this article. Finally, due to practical reasons, it might be more helpful to focus on SEL and developing certain social-emotional competencies related to EI than to concentrate just on EI by itself.

Notwithstanding, implementation of SEL has been hampered by some limitations, comprising the dearth of a consistent definition – a drawback that accordingly affects research findings; lack of teacher education in SEL, which destroys confidence in the reliability of implementation; and concerns that current SEL programs are not sensitive to cultural differences in communities. Conceding that there is no universally accepted meaning of SEL (Hoffman 2009), commonly, and for the sake of this study, the concept denotes programs that attempt to enhance emotional literacy and/or the advance of what are perceived to be crucial social-emotional skills and competencies. These include such questions as emotional awareness (being able to recognise and label one's own and other's emotions), having the ability to express and manage emotions fittingly, making responsible choices or decisions, creating positive social relationships, and handling challenging interpersonal situations efficiently. Even though countless SEL programs are addendums to the curriculum, there are other more inclusive approaches to SEL where the stress is on instilling social-emotional competencies such as self-awareness, self-management, thoughtfulness, a sense of community, and responsible decision-making into the whole school know-how. One of the benefits of more holistic programs, according to their supporters, is that they encourage a school inclusive and efficient approach that inspires essential social-emotional abilities that improve the whole social, emotional, and academic environment of a school for all pupils, not just those who might be identified as being at risk.

Although SEL programs may diverge in their delivery (curricular supplements vs. whole classroom/entire school transformation) and in their thematic focus (e.g. nurturing community or decreasing conflict), most programs underline the development of EI, defined as 'skill clusters' connected to self and social awareness, identifying and labelling feelings of self and others, self-management (monitoring and regulating emotions), decision-making skills, and relationship skills (CASEL 2011). In order to acquire them, there are two evidence-based programming pathways: the person-centred focus and the environmental focus. With respect to the person-centred approach, SEL refers to the acquaintance and abilities children obtain through social and emotional-related education, activities, instruction, or promotions efforts that support them to recognise and manage emotions, engage in responsible decision-making, and establish positive relationships (Zins et al. 2004). With regard to learning environments, the literature mentions to non-violent, thoughtful and cooperative, caring, and well-managed learning environments. A helpful school and organisational environment, responsive communication styles and relationships, high performance expectations, openness to parental and community involvement, and an active participation of learners are crucial features.

Distinguishing multicultural from intercultural education

Terms vary in different regions of the world, according to political history, economic background and philosophical spirit that determine how diversity is defined in a specific context. In the so-called 'first world countries', such as Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, multicultural education tends to designate the current situation of their metropolitan societies as a new ideology of their respective nation states; whereas European nation states originally based on autochthonous dominant ethnicities tend to use intercultural education, predominantly defined as a reciprocal strategy of minority-majority integration or accommodation in increasingly post-national constellations (Palaiologou and Dietz 2012). For Palaiologou and Dietz (2012, 29) what is more relevant is the distinction with regard to the prevailing target group of the particular educational model. In postcolonial Latin America, intercultural/multicultural education explicitly targets indigenous communities. In Europe, intercultural/multicultural educational initiatives tend to target 'new' immigrant communities and their children. However, both concepts address negative attitudes towards 'the Other' and promote empathy – which underlines the emotional dimension needed to deal with 'the Otherness'.

Intercultural education is an increasingly used term in multicultural-neoliberal discourses, policies and strategies, which is defined by Walsh (2009) as 'functional interculturality'. Thus, the intercultural term is used to design 'development' policies for indigenous people. As this author argues, beyond the recognition of diversity, 'functional interculturality' is a strategy that aims to include the excluded in a globalised society not ruled by the

people, but by the interests of the market. These approaches assume intercultural dialogue as a utopia, without questioning relationships of power and dominance between peoples and cultures that express themselves in asymmetry. Accordingly, Walsh argues for a critical interculturality, whose aims are not simply 'to recognize, tolerate or incorporate what is different within the matrix and established structures' (2010, 79). Critical interculturality aims to 'reconceptualize and refound social, epistemic and stock structures that bring to the stage and in equitable relation logics, practices and diverse cultural ways of thinking, act and live' (2010, 83). According to Guilherme and Dietz (2015, 7) the difference between the concept of 'interculturality' and the idea of a 'critical interculturality' is that the latter explicitly addresses constellations of conflicts and relations of power between the various elements participating in intercultural interactions, to unveil implicit tensions between multiple ethnic cultures, to question taken-for-granted ruling principles of intercultural communication and interaction in hegemonic societies, and to be active in transforming long-lasting societal structures.

Engaging emotions in intercultural education

Present-day theories of social-emotional development and competence are based on the notion that emotional experience is anchored in sociocultural experience and the two are mutually powerful. Emotions per se are a biological human repertoire, but the experience, manifestation, and management of emotions are shaped through socialisation and education within a particular cultural setting (Muller 2016). This is the micro-culture of the classroom where students meet with others with a different background, worldview and way of expressing their emotions. Children look for emotional cues from their peers when interacting with outsiders.

Traditional emotion models were confronted by the 'social construction of emotion' suggesting that emotions are socially constructed, contextually situated and learned within cultures. Furthermore, norms regarding emotional expression, emotional experience, and emotional regulation are vastly conditioned by culture (Kitayama and Markus 1994). Students attain emotional competency not as universally applicable, transcontextual capability, but with respect to the relationships and contexts in which they live and develop (Zwaans et al. 2008). The events that are promoted and created by a culture vary according to its prevalent cultural goals. Hence, a reasonable question is: does a curriculum in emotional skills, for example, effectively engage with or reproduce cultural diversity, or does it suppose a particular ideal of emotional competency effective across all cultural milieus? There seems to be acknowledgment in the literature that cultural differences and diversity may make some types of SEL troublesome without appropriate 'cultural adaptation' and/or 'self-awareness'. Although there is not an enormous literature on the questions connected to adaptation of SEL programs' effects on minority groups,

there have been reports of fruitful 'community, culture, and caring' programs and schools aiming particular minority groups (CASEL 2016). In their study of the execution of prevention programs across cultures, it has been noticed that adaptation is common, and that it involves attention to 'surface structure (i.e. role models used in teaching lessons) and to profound structure (i.e. beliefs, core values, norms, etc.)'. From another standpoint, however, limitations about the need to adapt SEL to different cultural beliefs and values might pay lip service to cultural differences without engaging it at a truly profound level, particularly if central assumptions about such issues as 'universal developmental needs' or the nature of 'positive relationships' continue intact. When it comes to understanding the play of emotion and its interrelationship with multifaceted cultural fields of meaning such as experiences and understandings of self and others, the troubles of encoding such understandings into 'teachable SEL competencies' for 'all children' develop pivotal.

How do emotions interrelate with intercultural education? In general, the evidence-based research findings underscore that intercultural learning is powerfully related to SEL. Intercultural education is concerned with providing suitable answers to the extensive range of diversity among pupils (Banks, 2010), seeing cultural differences not as an obstacle but as a chance for enhanced learning. Intercultural education aims to assist in the fight against racism and discrimination by encouraging students to participate in critical thinking. Intercultural education does not marginalise the fundamental societal issues of inequalities, injustices, poverty and exclusion. Students are consequently requested to address matters like migration, the roots of poverty or the consequences of inequalities by reflecting upon their particular representations, feelings and personal experiences. In this context, where students have to confront uncomfortable feelings we can also affirm that the ability to govern one's own emotions and manage those of others' is the hallmark of intercultural education (Wang 2008). Since classrooms are diverse, the need to ensure that students develop pro-social and emotional skills and can create positive peer relationships when students learn to communicate openly expressing their emotions, needs at the same time to recognise that they are capable of acknowledging those of others. Therefore, engaging emotions in intercultural education is a significant but a somewhat neglected issue in educational inquiry. In this paper, SEL interventions are proposed to teach students coping skills and critical knowledge that enable them to be successful in living within a wide range of culturally diverse contexts. The idea is that students are encouraged to develop the ability to reflect upon their own personal experiences and emotions when they think and act in relation to cultural diversity. Thus, engaging with emotions in intercultural education is not only is a sensitive art but also entails a multifaceted political analysis in the sense that Walsh (2009, 2010) argues for developing critical interculturality. Nonetheless, the sociocultural aspects of emotions have been largely ignored, at least in pedagogy, and when they are examined, as Boler (1999) mentions, emotions are typically treated as something to manage

rather than as something to promote democratisation and social equity. However, SEL is crucial to destabilising social hierarchies which privilege rationality, logic, control and, thus, dominance. A critical engagement with emotions and education is political as it involves power relationships, which demands to rethink the role of emotions in education. 250

Findings from SEL research can contribute to the enablement and involvement of youth with different cultural and emotional needs. SEL can contribute to 'caring classrooms and intelligent' schools (Cohen 2001), consequently being one opportunity for crafting an intercultural school ethos. As Gay (2010) summarises, 'caring in education has dimensions of emotion, intellect, faith, ethics, action, and accountability' (54). Caring pedagogy also implies that teachers concentrate not only on the outcomes but also to the person. Teachers want to guarantee that each student knows they hold high academic expectations; at the personal level, at the same time they are firm, instituting clear rules and offer appropriate support such as scaffolding. If schools are to have any significance as a benefit in child development, SEL is a strategic issue in the drive towards an intercultural approach to generate challenging learning environments that are responsive to the requirements of all students. 255 260

Pedagogical strategies for enacting culturally responsive classroom management based on SEL 265

It is worth noting that the transformation of schools requires systemic intervention. When educators and students come from different cultural backgrounds, planned efforts to cross social boundaries and respectful relationships are critical. Thus, efforts should be made to shape all aspects of school practice and to include all members of the young person's world to guarantee that students perceive the same message, with a common vocabulary and connected learning aims. Person-centred skill development, 'emotional-sound' instruction and didactics – these are not sufficient. Furthermore, social-environmental factors that affect learning (such as communication styles, classroom structures and instructions, school organisational climate, policies, parental and community engagement) need to be addressed. There are a number of strategies that teachers and schools can get involved in systemically – in the classroom and/or on a school wide basis – to nurture SEL programmes embedded in cultural diversity: 270 275

1. Culturally relevant pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching. 280

A pedagogy that encourages questions, different viewpoints, and the possibility for learners to contribute their own knowledge will inevitably encourage openness. Calls for 'culturally relevant pedagogy' (Ladson-Billings 1995) and 'culturally responsive teaching' (Gay 2000) address the need for teachers to develop the knowledge, skills and predispositions to teach children from diverse racial, ethnic, language and social class backgrounds. Culturally responsive teaching 285

begins with an understanding of 'the self', 'the other', and the context. An SEL framework helps to recognise that we are all cultural beings, with our own biases, values and suppositions about human behaviour. In order to be culturally responsive, educators must attain 'cultural content knowledge'. Cultural knowledge should not be used to categorise or stereotype, or to infer a clear understanding of another's cultural beliefs and worldview. Instead, teachers should use acquired cultural knowledge as a way of expressing an openness and readiness to learn about the features of culture that are vital to students and their families.

2. Using the funds of knowledge of students.

Teachers need to work to create a sense of community. Teachers can also create positive relationships with students by sharing stories about their lives outside of school, learning about pupils' interests and activities, inviting them to make choices and decisions about class activities, and listening to their concerns and opinions (Moll et al. 2001). It is critical that educators purposely model respect for diversity – by expressing respect for a student's bilingual ability, by remarking enthusiastically about the amount of different languages that are represented in class, and by using examples and content from a diversity of cultures in their teaching. Culturally responsive classroom management requires that educators comprehend the ways that schools mirror and maintain discriminatory practices of the larger society. Teachers must understand how differences in race, social class, gender, language background and sexual orientation are linked to power. They are required to recognise that the structure and practices of schools (e.g. rigid tracking, unequally distributed means, standardised testing) can benefit select groups of pupils, while relegating or excluding others. With these essential understandings, teachers can begin to ponder on the ways their classroom management practices endorse or hinder equal access to learning. This is a long-term, unending and often unsettling process, in which cultural diversity becomes a lens through which educators view the responsibilities of classroom management.

3. Promoting intercultural communication in the classroom.

People with different cultural backgrounds tend to have diverse understandings of appropriate communication. In some cultures, for instance, maintaining eye contact is a sign of respect, whereas in others respect is communicated by maintaining an averted gaze. Hence, teachers need to be clear about diverse communication patterns since differences are constitutive of any dialogue. However, adhering to an essentialist cultural view to understand interactional problems can promote cultural stereotypes, as it likewise suggests that people should expect similar difficulties in similar circumstances, not just with one particular person, but with any person from a given community. Teachers need to take into consideration the fact that cultures are dynamic, and constructed

through social interactions, dialogues and shared activities (Matusov et al. 2007). Thus, it is not cultures but individuals who interact and that people attribute personal meanings to their practices, according to their personal trajectories and social situation. It might be interesting to consider that 'it is not difference in cultures that creates interactional breakdowns but, conversely, interactional breakdowns constitute boundaries and create cultures' (Matusov et al. 2007, 466).

4. Positive relationships with students and the impact of teacher's expectations.

Teachers' mental representations of their own relationships with students predict pupils' academic performance and regulation in school. Children who experience positive, caring relationships with their teachers demonstrate superior social competence; have fewer behaviour problems and exhibit a higher accomplishment orientation and academic performance when compared to peers with diffident relationships (Raider-Roth 2005). This author shows that building genuine, trustworthy and reciprocal relationships between teachers and students is critical in students' ability to learn. When educators and students come from different cultural backgrounds, planned efforts to cross social boundaries and advance compassionate, respectful relationships present a critical lens with which to assess all learning. Educators carry to the classroom behavioural schemas that mirror emotional state and expectations concerning their interactions with children and their motivational aims/behaviours. Some educators may expect children to sit silently and 'listen when someone is talking'. Some may expect children to be active members in class debates – to question, discuss and state their own views. Within this framework, it is essential that educators understand their own internalised working models as well as those of their students (Graves and Howes 2011). It is imperative to recall the significance of communicating high expectations and holding pupils responsible for high quality academic efforts. At the core of supportive relationships are positive and high expectations that not only structure and shape behaviour, but also challenge pupils to accomplish more than they think they can achieve. These expectations reflect a deep belief in the student's innate competence.

5. Developing relationships with families.

Benard (2006) contends that it is not enough to merely introduce best-practice approaches such as cooperative learning, mentoring, peer helping, authentic assessment, multiple intelligences, or parent involvement. Compelling research illustrates that dynamic school-home partnerships and parent engagement is an essential component to children's school achievement (Christenson and Havsy 2004; Epstein 2018). Fostering ongoing reliable partnerships is an intricate and thoughtful challenge. All students face the dual demands of the family and those held by the school environment, but when educators and

families come from different cultural backgrounds, the challenges are even larger. For instance, Asian-American families generally hold high expectations of their children's academic success; nonetheless, they tend to view educational matters as the province of the school. Likewise, in the context of Europe, Roma communities often greatly value education, but they usually perceive their role in schooling as limited to guaranteeing their children's attendance, encouraging respect for the teacher, and instilling 'good' behaviour. Culturally responsive educators contemplate the possibility that a lack of direct participation reveals a differing outlook regarding parental duties, rather than a lack of commitment to their children's education.

6. Fostering caring communities learning environments.

The SEL movement focuses on altering educational practice in ways that support positive emotional climates in classrooms and schools by building emotional competencies. Schaps, Battistich and Solomon (2004) speak of 'a caring community of learners' when all student experiences are appreciated, and they are regarded as contributing, influential members of a community. This does not mean that learning together must always be a conflict free process. The experience of undesirable emotions is an important part of social-emotional development. Distress is occasionally appropriate and embraced because it gives students the chance to develop closeness and it offers teaching opportunities. Like emotional moments, conflicts provide opportunities to practice and implement real-life skills. The key is to craft a climate for learning and to increase social-emotional competence that is not incompatible with 'a pedagogy of discomfort', suggested by Boler (1999), which enables critical analysis and transformative action. A pedagogical approach which places emphases on issues of valuing cultural diversity and problematising discrimination and inequality frequently involves students engaging in demanding and upsetting experiences; these experiences require both learning about others and confronting one's own emotional investments in various ideas such as race and ethnicity (Berlak 2004; Boler 1999). Such a pedagogical approach comprises scrutiny of one's emotional experiences, beliefs, and viewpoints about social justice and cultural diversity. Inevitably, such an investigation can challenge one's core values and generate prevailing negative feelings such as anger, shame or resentment that may inhibit or support transformative leaning (Boler and Zembylas 2003; Zembylas 2007). Thus, discomfort is an important context for children's SEL.

7. Finally, the use of cooperative learning activities and creative pedagogical methods.

Cooperative learning activities and creative pedagogical methods can highlight students' unique capacities, if activities trigger numerous capabilities (e.g. reading, writing, calculating, spatial problem solving, drawing, constructing models, public

speaking). Each of these tasks can be improved if teachers make a point of clarifying how it adds to the aim of building community. Cooperative learning strategies are the best-known approaches for positive inclusion, and are characterised by: a common activity or learning task appropriate for group work, small group learning, cooperative behaviour, positive interdependence and individual responsibility and accountability. Nonetheless, interpersonal processes are complex and can be influenced by the social status of the groups' members and their position as perpetrators, bystanders or victims. Research findings underscore that learners need to be supported in their efforts when engaging in cooperative group work; the analysis of problems, conflicts and emotions experienced during the collaborative working process can be used as a learning tool in the debriefing process (Cowie and Berdondini 2001). One way to address emotions in education is through arts and literature (Pekrun and Linnenbrink-Garcia 2014). In intercultural education, auto/biographies, narratives and films can be used effectively to help students move beyond their own world and into other people's lives to experience the impact of social injustice. Engaging literature and films helps pupils get more in tune with their emotions.

Conclusions and future directions

The dynamic nature of emotions is a paramount issue in intercultural education. Such attention, however, does not mean separating the role of emotion in pedagogy, but demands the interplay of intellect and feeling in the classroom to open up a creative space where both educators and students can risk engaging in personal and cultural change. Such is a dream of sustainable and authentic intercultural education.

Being a culturally responsive teacher means more than learning a few words in a student's native language or making a bulletin board that shows students' countries of origin. It implies being eager to reflect on the ways that classroom management decisions enhance or impede students' access to learning. Culturally responsive classroom management is a frame of mind as much as a set of strategies or practices. Educators who are culturally responsive acknowledge their prejudices and beliefs. They reflect on how these impact their interactions with students. Culturally responsive teachers also struggle to become conversant about the cultures and communities in which their students live. They recognise the legitimacy of different ways of speaking and interacting. This implies respect, not the rejection of cultural practices that are not part of the mainstream paradigm. Culturally responsive educators realise that the final aim of classroom management is not to attain acquiescence or control, but to offer all students equitable opportunities for learning. In sum, embedding SEL into intercultural classroom management promotes social justice.

Finally, we can conclude that SEL approaches have demonstrated their value. The evidence shows that it promotes academic excellence, social responsibility and personal growth. Nonetheless, there is still a considerable need for research of social-emotional and academic innovations that acknowledge the variability and multiplicity of learners and of various schools' contexts. In sum, intercultural education offers a framework for rethinking and changing curricula, school climates and relationships, providing the foundation for improved quality of education for all. Consequently, a multifaceted SEL approach, as described here, should not be seen as additional but as an integral part of intercultural educational processes. Therefore, this connection is not only critical but also inevitable and desirable.

Notes

1. There are multiple views on social justice. In this paper, social justice is defined as the provision of equality of opportunity for all students irrespective of their race, gender, sexual orientation, ethnic background, language, socioeconomic status or disability. In this vein, the role of teachers is pivotal to offer support to students and to build positive relationships with all of them, particularly those belonging to protected groups according to the EU Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.
2. Sociocultural factors comprise, but are not limited to, fixed group markings such as race, gender and disability as well as non-fixed factors, such as SES and geographic location.


Disclosure statement





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